4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

293
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Fig. 1

Asherglitáwa — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Asherglitáwa — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 2

Um jovem pajé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se ele cair.

A young shaman, in a tranced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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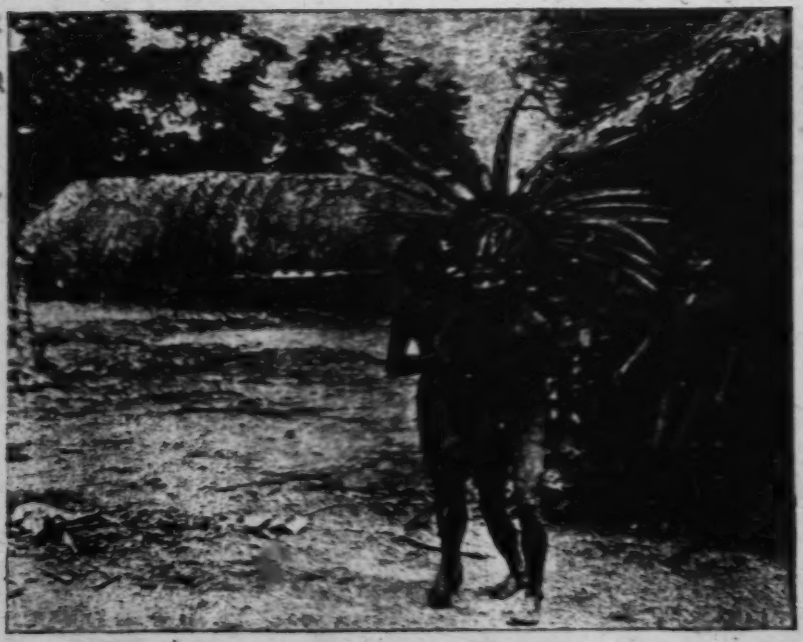

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Cai antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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177
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, cai antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pajé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rigido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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786
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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 8

Ele era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para amparó-lo na queda.

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pajé cai inconsciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam rápidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam aos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nesta ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairabo estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairabo's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam facilmente o corpo rigido de Pantsi, um dos poderosos pagés, após ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Pantsi, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Pantori.

The same young men carrying Pantori.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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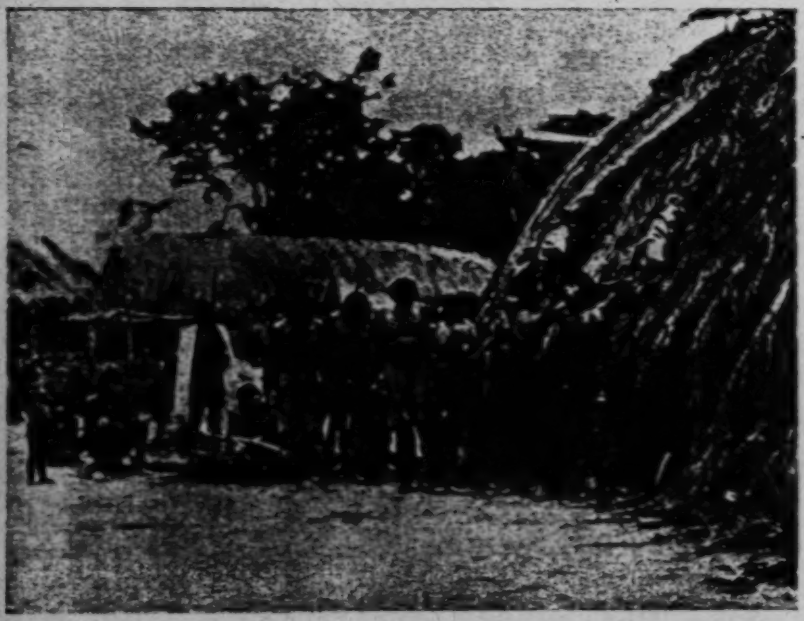

Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

660 A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de dansa, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pagé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—‖—‖— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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361 796 A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—‖—‖— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p. 54]

4c Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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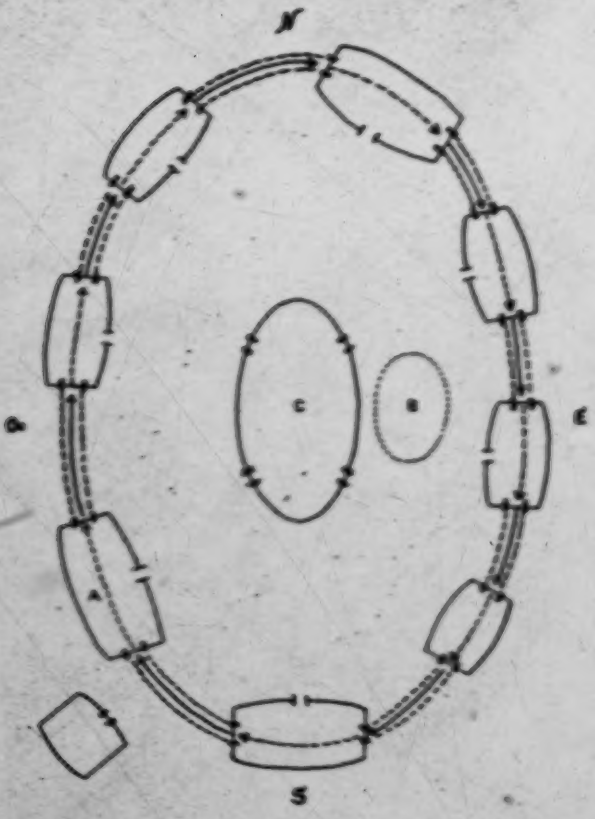

Fig. 13

Disposição das nove casas da aldeia, com as portas provisórias para o circuito da Cerimônia do Trovão.

Arrangement of the nine dwellings of the village, with the temporary side doors opened to form the circuit for the Thunder ceremony.

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TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

Charles Wagley
Columbia University — Museu Nacional

The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions.

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three

[p. 57]

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122 months course in field methods, and from November 1941 to April 42 the writer and three students of the Museu Nacional made ethnographical studies among the Guajajara Indians, in the State of Maranhão. For this reason I have the pleasure of publishing the results of my researches in Brazil, in the Boletim do Museu Nacional.

C. W.
April 1942

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INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupí-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, karâ (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajutorio* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus. 1937. "Os grupos de cantar e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Boletim de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p. 61]
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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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241 462 [423] and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however, are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] 262 22 Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapirapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tayassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially anderoba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 435 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic subsistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera ?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village: four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family 591 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life 592 separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wéd — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wéd function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called tãtãpawã — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these wéd groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them grupos de trabalho (work groups). He reports these wéd groups among the adult men and women that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's wéd group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [319]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 98).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtãpawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

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601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral; the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[962] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

995 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
996 These spirits, known by the generic term of *anúnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *anúnga ánuvera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

995 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[961] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhanga* or *agnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

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west to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh: they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial: so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*): that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anitenga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but *Wori*, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaká anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *maxpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of *urucú* in preparation for burial. [303 764]

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Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančänga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an *ančänga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančänga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle: in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

The dream experience of Ikaaxcowi, a powerful shaman who died a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *mangé anáá*. They

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(7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not universally found among Tupí tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many socó (*Butoroides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anẽnga* had several pots of *kauí* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kauí* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kauí* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards: the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *muxpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick: they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *muxpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons: he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *muxpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kauí* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *muxpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *muxpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *anẽnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *oréya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *oréya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anẽnga* and owe as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anẽnga* dies gurgling and snoring, unable to speak: so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kauí* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 776 787 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri, perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi aniénga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gé-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Tapirapé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anaetawa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *perapi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold: it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 787 821 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pasié*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman said me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kapia zawona*.

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(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Pantert, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Pantert through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Pantert will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Pantert will throw his *awkangitéra* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling grapingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *awkangitéra* to strike the soul of his victim over

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(10) See page 77 for the use of tobacco in curers, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *awkangitéra* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long cord headbands of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" headdress (See Pls. 1 on page 41).

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757 the hand or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipiré kunga*) or gnawing worms (*mukõ or dowé*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[787] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

693 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[559] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "mad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urubamea and Wanteanama, *pamés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[783] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[792 793] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*wetúmuha*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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The eight living men (*marãtxunkaxera* or "killers") who had killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. *Kuča-nančé* (*kučan*, woman; *panič*, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants: women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman thus murdered was avenged by his relatives: yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases: thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few Indians".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left there [in May, 1940] twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Cunpakwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

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to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maránzunkantéa* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *kwé ẽinga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé villages and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairahu disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairé because he had killed Kaulkwaú, Kamairahu's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairahu's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairé's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamairahu's father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

when an
individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimetres long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [517] [278] [953 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 955 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach: soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated: he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Pathogenic vomma, arrows which are supposed into body by sorcery. [954]

(19) It hardly need be said that pajés do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then marches in this mess to the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pancé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

[554]

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Pantori made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Pantori, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pancé* it drove away fevers.

[824]

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Pantori "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder. 756
have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of chil- 82
dren" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children 842
from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piay (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the 756
door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is 842
always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairabo that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for [837]
according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairabo was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman 225
during the period each October and November when they must swim 756
while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are 481
infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the 825
carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, anaki, *wamihuye*, wild pigs, *jauá* (*Pecari* sp.), jaboti (*Peraphis* sp.), fish or called *tahuaure* (*Cichla ocellaris*), *jauá* (*Myletes* sp.), and *pamaha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jakuri* (*Potamotrygon* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

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825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
491 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[787] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towajawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The
[776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the ancúnga called *amyukúga* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[829] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Pantxri's vision of the fever in the village of the *perupi* dam. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Canajé villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Pantxri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophesied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pantere was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kasi. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his ac- 756 787

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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sions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described moderately by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a čiriãkãnta, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the čiriãkãnta are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

(23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most čiriãkãnta are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two more "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

(24) On this subject of chiefdomship, I again disagree with Baldus. He supports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the eldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next eldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 31). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of čiriãkãnta were generally passed on by parents to their eldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *anté ówa* — or as their "song leader" — *amnnikã ówa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *ciriãkãiotu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership.

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *aniinga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north-

were the ones who generally produced *ciriãkãiotu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his work, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wamtsawara, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader".

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our pajé, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain at what material the new craniums might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maraiwara shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kaol, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[764] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maraiwara; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maraiwara is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairabu, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Pantori, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five red feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairoi, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Tzawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any
[371] specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauiá* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *panié's* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Pantsri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding: these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 956 [967]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the men and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *panié's* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior: [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 77.

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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 928 [936] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable [928] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pajé*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 [939] 928 [962] Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes grimy. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

meats as jacu, cauti (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Canpukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the diet, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maeumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maeumi with a club and blood ran down Maeumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Panteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP12 Tapirapé SP12

THE THUNDER CEREMONY

In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Maxatawa surrounded by his various supernaturalties. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pamé-tãwãra*), messengers called *awaxperawa* that carry news to these *pamé tãwãra*, and finally, *topi* (28).

Topi are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European hands, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi*'s canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pamé-tãwãra* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi*'s arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who create the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's. 1928. *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning by Pantori, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morning very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *tupi* and *panié*-dancers the next day. His song that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Pantori had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu relaxed into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with his wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies continued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the tupi's aroma. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

796 compassing map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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"saw *tupi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pantori took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *tupi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Pantori, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikwetwatsei, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth in the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *tupi* and *pantí-tánuera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the *tupi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *tupí* and *panié*-
[533] *ánowra* to come. During all this time the singing continued with its accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Panteri stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
776 me that he had seen *panié-ánowra* sent by Thunder. He rushed to the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *tupí*. He moved backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright, and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the sidelines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Panteri, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Panteri had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panié-ánowra* and many *tupí* in the house", one of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Panteri and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial castles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent actions that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *anhungitana*. This headdress exteriorizes Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Pantsi and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 986

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *anhungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Pantsi. Pantsi likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Pantsi related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a tapi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tapi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tapi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pantori grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *panié-tãnovïra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pantori walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *ančänga aiwiró*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pauteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal all cans which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some cans and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays pourvoyeur fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II. p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley L-S [1939-1968] 1943
SP22 Tupinaqa SP22

191 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held "quite secular powers (33). Another Curt Nimuendajú writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

Case of Kamairabo

Kamairabo is a man of great prestige and has been a *pajé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *anitãga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Pajoori and Urukumu. Kamairabo did not take part in
791 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topé*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambá, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in* Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sobre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Taplrape SP22

fell, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

Case of Panéri

Panéri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panéri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [561. 589]

Case of Kanacipá

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1968) 1943
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Case of Ipewangi

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Ipewangi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice in shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw antiteps but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the antiteps he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ori — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewangi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

[302] [351] [327] [231]

Case of Campukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.